

## Message Text

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AECE-00 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 INRE-00 /141 W

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O R 270857 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9358

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC IMMEDIATE

MBFR CAPITALS 620

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

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USNATO TAKE AS IMMEDIATE

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

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SUBJ: MBFR: PRESS STATEMENT FOR USE ON JUNE 28

1. AD HOC GROUP HAS DEVELOPED STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS  
FOR USE BY DUTCH REP ( QUARLES) AT A WESTERN PRESS CONFERENCE IM-

MEDIATE FOLLOWING THE FINAL PLENARY ON JUNE 28. TEXTS ARE STILL SUBJECT TO FINAL REVIEW IN AD HOC GROUP BUT ARE FORWARDED NOW FOR POSSIBLE BACKGROUND USE FOR PRESS BRIEFING BY WASHINGTON AND USNATO.

2. BEGIN TEXT PRESS STATEMENT

1. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MBFR PREPARATORY TALKS HAVE TODAY MET IN PLENARY SESSIIN AND ADOPTED A JOINT COMMUNIQUE MARKING THE FORMAL CONCLUSION OF THESE CONSULTATIONS. AS YOU SEE, THE COMMUNIQUE IS QUITE BRIEF. NEVERTHELESS, IT FAIRLY REFLECTS WHAT ALL DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING THOSE OF THE NATO ALLIES, CONSIDER TO BE A SATISFACTORY OUTCOME OF THE PAST 5 MONTHS OF TALKS HERE IN VIENNA.

2. BOTH THE ALLIES AND THE EASTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE GENERALLY IN AGREEMENT BEFORE WE CAME TO VIENNA ON THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THESE TALKS. THESE WERE TO DECIDE ON THE PARTICIPATION, PROCEDURES, DATE AND DESIGNATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS RELEVANT TO AN AGENDA.

3. THESE OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED. THE TALKS HAVE BEEN BUSINESS- LIKE AND THEIR ATMOSPHERE GOOD. FOR OUR PART WE CONCLUDE THAT THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES APPEAR TO BE INTERESTED IN CONDUCTING SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBJECT MATTER.

4. THE TALKS HAVE LASTED LONGER THAN WE FORESAW. BUT THE FACT THAT WE HAVE SPEND 5 MONTHS HERE, RATHER THAN 6 TO 8 WEEKS WILL, WE BELIEVE, SAVE US CONSIDERABLE TIME WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN. NOT ONLY HAVE WE BEEN ABLE TO SOLVE SOME DIFFICULT PROBLEMS, WE HAVE ALSO HAD AN INTENSIVE AND SEFUL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AS A RESULT OF WHICH EACH SIDE KNOWS MORE OF THE OTHER'S THINKING ON A NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. WE THINK OUR TIME HERE HAS BEEN WELL SPENT.

5. NOW I SHOULD LIKE TO TURN FROM THESE GENERAL REMARKS TO A DISCUSSION OF THE COMMUNIQUE ITSELF. THE COMMUNIQUE IS DESIGNED TO RECORD THE AGREEMENTS REACHED DURING OUR TALKS. THESE AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN THE FOLLOWING.

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6. FIRST OF ALL, THE TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE SHOWS THAT THE PARTICIPANTS DECIDED TO HOLD FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THESE WILL BEGIN ON OCTOBER 30, 1973. TO ESTABLISH THAT ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS ON MBFR WOULD TAKE PLACE, AND TO SET A SPECIFIC DATE FOR THEIR OPENING HAS BEEN THE MAJOR PURPOSE OF OUR TALKS. THERE WAS SOME DELAY REGARDING THIS DATE, BUT IT HAS BEEN RESOLVED TO THE SATISFACTION OF ALL, AND WE ARE PLEASED THAT THIS PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. ALL THE 19 PARTICIPANTS ARE NOW FORMALLY COMMITTED TO BEGINNING ON OCTOBER 30, 1973, NEGOTIATIONS ON AN AGREED SUBJECT MATTER RELATING TO CENTRAL EUROPE. THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE THUS A GOING CONCERN.

7. AS YOU SEE, WE HAVE ALSO AGREED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL

TAKE PLACE IN VIENNA. THE SELECTION OF VIENNA AS A SITE IS A SOURCE OF SATISFACTION TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. ON THE BASIS OF OUR EXPERIENCE THUS FAR, WE CONSIDER IT AN EXCELLENT CHOICE.

8. AS YOU WILL NOTE, WE HAVE ALSO AGREED ON A DESIGNATION WHICH DESCRIBES THE OVERALL SUBJECT MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS: " MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THIS IS A BRIEF FORMULA, BUT A SIGNIFICANT ONE, ON WHICH I WOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS: REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AND OTHER MEASURES WOULD BE MUTUAL; THAT IS BOTH SIDES WOULD PARTICIPATE ON A BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. THE MEASURES TO BE CONSIDERED WOULD INCLUDE NOT ONLY REDUCTION OF FORCES, BUT " ASSOCIATED MEASURES" AS WELL; THAT IS, FURTHER POSSIBLE MEASURES OTHER THAN REDUCTIONS DEALING WITH MILITARY FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND DESIGNED GENERALLY TO CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCING STABILITY WHILE MAINTAINING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTICIPANTS. IT WILL, OF COURSE, BE FOR THE NEGOTIATORS THEMSELVES TO DECIDE WHAT THESE " ASSOCIATED MEASURES" WOULD BE. FOR OUR PART, WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO NEGOTIATIONS ON SUCH MEASURES AS ARRANGEMENTS TO ENHANCE STABILITY AND TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF MISCALCULATION OF THE INTENTIONS OF EITHER SIDE AND THE FEAR OF SURPRISE ATTACK, WHAT IS SOMETIMES CALLED CONSTRAINTS. WE ALSO ATTACH IMPORTANCE IN THIS CONTEXT TO MEANS OF PROVIDING ASSURANCE OF COMPLIANCE WITH OBLIGATIONS WHICH MAY BE ASSUMED IN POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS, WHAT WE FOR CONVENIENCE CALL VERIFICATION. FINALLY, THE DESIGNATION ESTABLISHES THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS CENTRAL EUROPE, AN IMPORTANT POINT TO WHICH I WILL RETURN.

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AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 RSR-01 /141 W

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O R 270857 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9359

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

MBFR CAPITALS 621

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO II  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN  
AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

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9. YOU WILL ALL HAVE NOTICED THAT THE WORD " BALANCED" DOES NOT APPEAR IN THIS DESIGNATION. THIS IS BECAUSE THE EASTERN AUTHORITIES HAD AND CONTINUE TO HAVE SOME MISCONCEPTIONS AS TO THAT WORD. IN OUR VIEW, THE TERM " BALANCED" COMPREHENDS THE IDEAS THAT ANY FUTURE MEASURE SHOULD BE RECIPROCAL, SHOULD PROVIDE FOR ENHANCED STABILITY AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES, AND SHOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY.

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10. I WOULD NOT SAY THAT THE EASTERN AUTHORITIES FIND ANY DIFFICULTY WITH THESE CONCEPTS. IN FACT, FURTHER ON IN THE AGREED COMMUNIQUE, THERE IS A SENTENCE WHICH STATES THAT " SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY WORKED OUT IN SCOPE AND TIMING IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL IN ALL RESPECTS AND AT EVERY POINT CONFORM TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY." THIS SENTENCE IN FACT PRESENTS THE NATO CONCEPT OF " BALANCED" AS IT HAS BEEN DEFINED IN VARIOUS NATO COMMUNIQUE, STARTING WITH THE REYKJAVIK COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 1968 WHICH STATED THAT " MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE RECIPROCAL AND BALANCED IN SCOPE AND TIMING." THE MOST RECENT COMMUNIQUE, ISSUED IN COPENHAGEN ON JUNE 15 SPEAKS OF " PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE." THEREFORE, WE CONSIDER THAT THE ELEMENTS OF THE NATO CONCEPT OF " BALANCED" ARE SATISFACTORILY COVERED IN THE COMMUNIQUE AGREED TODAY, AND WE WOULD ALSO SAY THAT THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL MEASURE OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AS REGARDS THE UNDERLYING CONTENT OF THE " BALANCE" CONCEPT, EVEN THOUGH THE EASTERN AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE WORD ITSELF.

11. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO SHOWS THAT IT IS AGREED WHO WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE PARTICIPANTS ARE IN FACT MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCES ON BOTH SIDES. WE CONSIDER THIS TO BE THE APPROPRIATE PATTERN OF PARTICIPATION, GIVEN OUR INTEREST IN FOCUSING THE TALKS ON CENTRAL EUROPE WHERE THE CONCENTRATION

OF MILITARY FORCES IS HIGHEST.

12. YOU ARE ALREADY FAMILIAR WITH THE DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT ON PARTICIPATION, TO WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE COMMUNIQUE. IT MAY BE HELPFUL HOWEVER IF I BRIEFLY SUMMARIZE THE MAIN POINTS. PARTICIPANTS ARE DIVIDED INTO 2 CATEGORIES: THOSE WITH DECISION-MAKING POWER WHO ARE THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS; AND THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE ALLIED TO THEM. YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE TWO SIDES HAVE IN EFFECT AGREED TO DISAGREE ON THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY'S FUTURE STATUS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THIS QUESTION REMAINS AN OPEN ONE. ON THIS POINT, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY ONCE AGAIN THAT THE EASTERN OBJECTIVE AT THE OUTSET WAS TO EXCLUDE HUNGARY FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS ENTIRELY. THE MAIN WESTERN OBJECTIVE WAS TO KEEP OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATING  
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MEASURES COVERING HUNGARY. THE OUTCOME, WHICH IS CONFIRMED IN THE PRESENT COMMUNIQUE, INDICATES THAT THIS POSSIBILITY DOES REMAIN OPEN. WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THIS OUTCOME, AND INTEND TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF HUNGARY AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS.

13. WE ALSO AGREED ON THE PROCEDURES BOTH FOR THESE PRESENT TALKS AND FOR THE COMING NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WAS NOT SO EASY A TASK AS IT MIGHT APPEAR BECAUSE SOME DELEGATIONS AT THE OUTSET WANTED ALL 19 PARTICIPANTS TO HAVE EQUAL STATUS, AND THEY ALSO WANTED TO INVITE OTHER PARTIES TO JOIN THE TALKS. THE NATO DELEGATIONS FELT THAT IF SUCH AN APPROACH WERE ADOPTED, IT WOULD BLUR THE GEORGRAPHIC FOCUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THERE WAS AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BEFORE WE CAME HERE THAT THE FOCUS OF THESE TALKS AND THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REGION. TO HAVE GIVEN DECISION-MAKING STATUS TO STATES NOT HAVING FORCES OR TERRITORY IN THIS CENTRAL EUROPEAN REGION, OR TO HAVE INVITED ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS TO JOIN IN THESE TALKS WOULD HAVE BROADENED THEIR FOCUS AND MADE MORE DIFFICULT AN ALREADY COMPLEX TASK. THIS POINT WAS FINALLY RESOLVED, BUT ONLY AFTER CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY, BECAUSE WE WERE IN FACT DISCUSSING PROCEDURES NOT ONLY FOR THE PRESENT CONSULTATIONS, BUT FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS AS WELL. OF COURSE, WE WISH TO KEEP OTHER INTERESTED EUROPEAN STATES INFORMED ON THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

14. TWO SENTENCES IN THE COMMUNIQUE REFER TO THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WE HAVE HAD ON AN AGENDA FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS EXCHANGE, ALTHOUGH PRELIMINARY, WAS USEFUL IN THAT BOTH SIDES PRESENTED SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR AN AGENDA. AS A RESULT, EACH SIDE IS NOW AWARE OF THE OTHER'S VIEWS AND THE REASONING UNDERLYING THEM.

15. HOWEVER, AS THE COMMUNIQUE MAKES CLEAR, WE DID NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE WITH THE TIME AT OUR DISPOSAL TO AGREE ON AN

AGENDA, AND THE COMMUNIQUE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE AN AGENDA.  
RATHER THAN TO SPEND THE FURTHER TIME WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN  
REQUIRED, WE SIMPLY AGREED THAT THE DESIGNATION OF THE SUBJECT  
MATTER OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THAT IS TO SAY THE AGREED TITLE,  
WOULD OF ITSELF INDICATE IN GENERAL TERMS WHAT WE WERE GOING  
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TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT, AND THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS WITH DECISION-  
MAKING POWER WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO RAISE ANY " TOPIC RELEVANT  
TO THE SUBJECT MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION." IT IS CLEAR THAT IN  
THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED AGENDA, BOTH SIDES HAVE RESERVED THE  
RIGHT TO INTRODUCE FOR ACTUAL NEGOTIATION THOSE TOPICS WHICH  
THEY FEEL SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND DECIDED.

16. THE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINS A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT GENERAL  
POINTS. THERE IS A SENTENCE WHICH DEFINES THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE  
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND ESTABLISHES THEIR BROAD  
FRAMEWORK. IT READS: " IT WAS AGREED THAT THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE  
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE  
RELATIONSHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY  
IN EUROPE." THIS SENTENCE SHOWS THAT THE TWO SIDES HAVE AGREED  
THAT THE REDUCTION OF FORCES OR ANY OTHER MEASURES IN THE  
CONTEXT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS AN END  
IN ITSELF, BUT DESIGNED TO CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER STABILITY  
AND SECURITY IN EUROPE. IN OTHER WORDS THIS OBJECTIVE CAN  
BE REGARDED AS A BASIC CRITERION AGAINST WHICH POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS  
WILL BE MEASURED, FURTHER, ALTHOUGH POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS ON

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AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 RSR-01 /141 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9360

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

MBFR CAPITALS 622

USMISSION GENEVA

SUNMR SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN  
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AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

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USNATO TAKE AS IMMEDIATE

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

FORCE REDUCTION AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES WILL FOCUS ON CENTRAL  
EUROPE, THE TEXT MAKES CLEAR THAT THE STATED OBJECTIVE OF STRENG-  
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THENING STABILITY, PEACE AND SECURITY APPLIES TO ALL OF EUROPE.  
THIS REFLECTS THE NATO POSITION ON THE INDIVISIBILITY OF  
SECURITY - A POSITION REAFFIRMED AT THE RECENT NATO MINISTERIAL  
MEETING IN COPENHAGEN. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT, DURING THE NEGOTI-  
ATIONS, THE PARTICIPANTS WILL BEAR IN MIND THE BROADER CONTEXT  
OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

17. THERE IS A SENTENCE DESCRIBING THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE  
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED. THE PURPOSE OF THIS SENTENCE  
IS TO INDICATE THAT, IN VIEW OF THE COMPLEXITY AND GREAT SENSI-  
TIVITY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE  
APPROACHED PRUDENTLY AND CAUTIOUSLY. THIS SENTENCE SHOULD BE  
READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ONE WHICH FOLLOWS IT, REFERRING  
TO SCOPE AND TIMING AND THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY,  
WHICH I HAVE ALREADY QUOTED TO YOUR. TOGETHER, THEY INDICATE  
AGREEMENT THAT IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO REACH AGREEMENTS IN PHASES  
OR STAGES, AND THAT, IF SO, EACH SEPARATE PHASE MUST CONFORM TO  
THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY. INDEED,  
THIS PRINCIPLE - UPON WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED FORM THE  
OUTSET - WILL BE A CRITERION BY WHICH ALL POTENTIAL AGREEMENTS WILL  
BE JUDGED. THESE CONCEPTS REFLECT LONG HELD VIEWS OF THE NATO  
ALLIES.

18. FINALLY THERE IS AN ITEM IN THE COMMUNIQUE ON WORKING GROUPS.  
THIS IS AN ESSENTIALLY PROCEDURAL MATTER ON WHICH IT IS FELT IT  
WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE NEGOTIATORS TO REACH A FINAL DECISION  
THEMSELVES. WE HAVE REACHED INFORMAL UNDERSTANDING THAT AMONG  
THE NEGOTIATING DEVICES TO BE CONSIDERED, OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS

COULD BE USEFUL. THE COMMUNIQUE MERELY STATES, HOWEVER, THAT THE QUESTION WILL BE CONSIDERED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. WITHOUT PREJUDGING THE FINAL DECISION.

19. I SHOULD NOW LIKE TO SUM UP FOR YOU OUR GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS FROM THESE TALKS. THE NATO ALLIES ARE SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE VIENNA TALKS. THE EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES PROVED TENACIOUS NEGOTIATORS, AS WE EXPECTED THEM TO BE. I AM SURE THEY WOULD FEEL THE SAME SHOULD BE SAID FOR THE NATO ALLIES. THE OUTCOME HAS THE PRIMARY CHARACTERISTIC OF A SUCCESSFUL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE: IT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE IDEAL FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF EITHER SIDE, BUT IT IS BROADLY SATISFACTORY. THE ISSUES WE HAVE DEALT WITH THERE IN THESE CONSULTATIONS HAVE, FOR THE MOST PART, CONFIDENTIAL

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BEEN COUCHED IN PROCEDURAL TERMS. THIS MAY HAVE HAD THE EFFECT OF MAKING OUR DISCUSSIONS SOMETIMES APPEAR RATHER DRY AND ACADEMIC. I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT A SUBJECT WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE SECURITY OF 19 STATES IS NECESSARILY ONE OF GREAT COMPLEXITY AND SENSITIVITY. THE FACT, HOWEVER, THAT THE DISCUSSIONS HERE WERE LONG AND TENACIOUSLY PURSUED BY BOTH SIDES IS IN ITSELF EVIDENCE THAT IMPORTANT ISSUES OF REAL SUBSTANCE UNDERLAY ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS. NEITHER SIDE WOULD HAVE WANTED THE OUTCOME OF A PROCEDURAL DISCUSSION TO PREJUDICE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES WHICH WILL BE DEBATED LATER ON THEIR MERITS.

20. WE ARE SATISFIED ON OUR SIDE TO HAVE DEVELOPED WHAT WE CONSIDER HIGHLY EFFECTIVE WORKING METHODS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE FOR DISCUSSING AND DECIDING THE ISSUES ARISING IN THESE TALKS AND REQUIRING RESOLUTION. THE SPIRIT WITHIN OUR GROUP HAS AT ALL TIMES BEEN VERY GOOD AND - MOST IMPORTANT FOR US - ALLIANCE COHESION HAS BEEN MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED.

21. WE NOW RETURN HOME, WHERE MANY OF US WILL BE SPENDING THE SUMMER MONTHS PREPARING FOR THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

22. I WISH TO REPEAT THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES ARE MOST GRATEFUL TO THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES AND TO THE CITY OF VIENNA FOR THEIR FACILITATION OF OUR WORK HERE. THEY HAVE AT ALL TIMES BEEN MOST EFFICIENT AND COURTEOUS. WE ARE GRATEFUL TO THE AUSTRIAN AUTHORITIES AS WELL FOR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW THE USE OF THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY AS THE SITE FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO COMING BACK HERE IN THE FALL.

23. I SHALL NOW BE HAPPY TO DO MY BEST TO ANSWER ANY QUESTION YOU MAY HAVE.

END TEXT.

3. BEGIN TEXT OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS



QUESTION 1: DID YOU HAVE ANY DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING ON VIENNA AS THE SITE FOR NEGOTIATIONS? WERE ANY OTHER SITES PROPOSED?

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ANSWER: THERE WAS NO DIFFICULTY WHATEVER; NO OTHER SITES WERE DISCUSSED.

QUESTION 2: DOES NOT YOUR AGREEMENT TO DROP THE WORDS " BALANCED" FROM THE TITLE IN FACT MEAN A SIGNIFICANT DEFEAT FOR NATO?

ANSWER: ONE SHOULD NOT READ TOO MUCH INTO THIS QUESTION OF TERMINOLOGY. THE TERM " MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS" IS ONE WHICH HAS BEEN COMMONLY USED IN THE WEST, AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO USE IT, AND ALSO THE CONVENIENT INITIALS MBFR. WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON THIS MATTER: IT WAS ONLY AFTER REPEATED NATO PROPOSALS TO DISCUSS MBFR THAT THE EAST INDICATED ANY WILLINGNESS TO ADDRESS THE SUBJECT OF FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE AT ALL. MORE RECENTLY, THERE HAVE BEEN HIGH LEVEL EAST- WEST DISCUSSIONS OF THE TOPIC - I REFER TO CHANCELLOR BRANDT' S DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. BREZHNEV AT OREANDA AND BONN AND PRESIDENT NIXON' S DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. BREZHNEV IN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON WHICH HAVE REQUIRED SPECIFIC REFERENCNE TO THE SUBJECT IN COMMUNIQUES. IF YOU WILL LOOK AT THESE COMMUNIQUES, YOU WILL SEE THAT THEY DO NOT USE THE TERM " BALANCED," WHICH HAS IN FACT NEVER BEEN A PART OF AGREED EAST- WEST

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OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 RSR-01 /141 W  
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O R 270857 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9361

INFO SECDEF/ WASHDC IMMEDIATE

MBFR CAPITALS 623

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USDEL SALT TWO II  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN  
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AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA UNN  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

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USNATO TAKE AS IMMEDIATE

TERMINOLOGY ON THE SUBJECT, NOR IS IT NOW. AS I HAVE NOTED, THE WARSAW PACT STATES DO ACCEPT THE CONCEPTS UNDERLYING THE TERM AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE THE INITIALS MBFR AS A CONVENIENT WAY OF REFERRING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION 3: YOU STATE THAT THE EAST HAS ACCEPTED THE UNDERLYING  
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CONCEPTS OF " BALANCED." HAS THE EAST ACCEPTED ASYMMETRICAL REDUC-  
TIONS?

ANSWER: I BELIEVE THAT YOU ARE NOT REFERRING TO THE TERM " BALAN-  
CED" SO MUCH AS YOU ARE ASKING ABOUT WESTERN POSITIONS IN THE  
FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS. I WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO DISCUSS WESTERN  
NEGOTIATING POSITIONS HERE, BUT I WOULD MERELY SAY THAT WE CONTIN-  
UE TO BELIEVE THAT THEY SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT DIFFERENCES AND  
DISPARITIES WHICH DO EXIST IN THE SITUATION OF BOTH SIDES.

QUESTION 4: WHY IS THE PHRASE " MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES, ETC." IN THE SINGULAR?

ANSWER: THE TERM IS INTENDED TO BE GENERAL IN APPLICATION AND DOES  
NOT PREJUDICE THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION 5: WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF YOUR AGREEING TO " FORCES  
AND ARMAMENTS," WHICH IS A SOVIET TERM?

ANSWER: THERE IS LITTLE IF ANY SIGNIFICANCE IN OUR ACCEPTANCE OF  
THIS PHRASE. THE WORD " FORCES" AS WE HAVE USED IT HAS BEEN A  
GENERIC TERM COVERING ARMAMENTS.

QUESTION 6: CAN YOU GIVE ANY FURTHER INDICATION OF WHAT IS IN-  
TENDED TO BE COVERED BY THE TERM " ASSOCIATED MEASURES"?

ANSWER: I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED CONSTRAINTS AND VERIFICATION AS  
EXAMPLES OF SUCH MEASURES. I CANNOT GO FURTHER AT THIS POINT SINCE  
I SHOULD BE ANTICIPATING THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES.

QUESTION 7: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY CONSTRAINTS?

ANSWER: I BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION WAS ALREADY COVERED IN MY STATEMENT.

QUESTION 8: CAN YOU GIVE US FURTHER DETAILS ON THE AGENDA AS CONCEIVED BY EACH SIDE?

ANSWER: I AM AFRAID NOT: THAT, AGAIN, WOULD BE TOUCHING ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION 9: CAN YOU INTERPRET FURTHER THE PHRASE " CAREFULLY WORK-CONFIDENTIAL

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ED OUT IN SCOPE AND TIMING";

ANSWER: THE PHRASE IS PART OF THE CONCEPT OF " BALANCED" AS EXPRESSED IN THE PASSAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE WHICH READS: " CAREFULLY WORKED OUT IN SCOPE AND TIMING IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL IN ALL RESPECTS AND AT EVERY POINT CONFORM TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY."

QUESTION 10: WHAT IS MEANT BY UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR " EACH PARTY"?

ANSWER: " EACH PARTY" REFERS TO EACH OF THE 19 PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION 11: WHAT ABOUT THE SECURITY OF OTHER EUROPEAN STATES?

ANSWER: AS I SAID EARLIER, WE SHALL, OF COURSE, BEAR IN MIND THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE BROADER CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY.

QUESTION 12: WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN " WORKING GROUPS" AND " WORKING BODIES"?

ANSWER: NONE AT ALL, AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED.

QUESTION 13: WHAT IS CENTRAL EUROPE?

ANSWER: IT IS A GENERAL REFERENCE TO THE GEOGRAPHIC AREA TO BE ADDRESSED. A SPECIFIC DEFINITION AND APPLICATION OF THE TERM WILL BE WORKED OUT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AS REQUIRED BY POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS.

QUESTION 14: WHERE IN VIENNA WILL THE CONFERENCE BE HELD?

ANSWER: THAT HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED, BUT WE ARE SURE OUR AUSTRIAN HOSTS WILL PROVIDE GOOD FACILITIES.

QUESTION 15: WHAT WAS THE REASON FOR THE DELAY OVER SETTING A  
DATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS?

ANSWER: WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREPARED TO AGREE TO A SPE-  
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CIFIC DATE, WITHING THE SEPTEMBER- OCTOBER TIME FRAME EARLIER  
AGREED BY THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES, BUT THE OTHER SIDE REGARDED THE  
QUESTION AS ONE REQUIRING A POLITICAL DECISION AT A HIGH LEVEL.

END TEXT. HUMES

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** cunninfx  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Review Authority:** cunninfx  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 SEP 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06-Sep-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <14-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> jms 980227  
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**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005